

HON. BENTON McMILLIN

Democratic Candidate for Governor, Discusses the Issues of the Present Campaign

Ladies and Fellow Citizens: I come before you as the nominee of the Democratic party for the Governorship of Tennessee, nominated by a popular vote in a primary election. Having been twice honored by our people with this great trust, I am no stranger to you, and you know whether or not I will make a faithful and efficient Chief Executive. You know whether I am progressive and constructive or reactionary and inefficient.

Ours is a Government under written constitutions—State and Federal—which limit and define the powers of Government, and thereby set bounds to Governmental authority so there shall be no unnecessary encroachments upon man's natural rights. It was hoped by this means free Governments could be made perpetual and be kept from drifting into despotism, as all the free Commonwealths of ancient times did.

Ours has been, and will continue to be, a Government by parties. Washington's first was about the only non-partisan administration of this country. Being a Government through parties, the importance of the governing party is second only to the importance of the Government itself. Considered in this light, how vastly important are our party relations, how vital that the party with which we act shall have correct principles! One says, "I will act with the enemy only this election." Alas! you may so enthrone him that you cannot dislodge him when you wish.

FOUGHT FOR FREEDOM.

My countrymen, our fathers fought for your freedom and mine. They established a government designed to give "Equal rights to all, special privileges to none." It has been appropriately designated as a "Government of the people, by the people and for the people." To maintain this Government in its purity, to perpetuate and so conduct it that while we govern man we still leave him free, is the great task that has been left to us. In my opinion the best agency for doing this yet tried is the Democratic party. It has worked assiduously and patriotically to this end in the past and will in the future. It has survived defeat and calamity time and again, and is more virile to-day than it has ever been in its history. But great and grand as is the Democratic party, noble as has been its history and patriotic its purposes, we have division in its ranks in Tennessee.

But at last our people have agreed to bury differences and unite forces for a great victory. "United we stand, divided we fall," is Kentucky's motto, and should be our party motto forever. The Bible tells us that a "house divided against itself cannot stand." Woeful experience has confirmed this, and we should never again allow our house divided. If I can prove to you that the divisions and defeats of the Democratic party have uniformly resulted in disaster to the people I have a right to ask you, in the name of our country, to join in reunion of the Democratic party. If I cannot prove this, I will not ask you to join it. Strangely enough, almost every time these divisions in the Democratic party have come on some temporary question that was no test of political faith. In 1880 Democracy split on the State debt. A man could take either side of this and be a Democrat, a Republican or a monarchist. Our division lost the State to Democracy. Hawkins was elected, but his election did nothing to settle the debt or improve conditions. We had, at last, to regain power, take the reins of government and settle the debt problem ourselves. We should take warning by this experience.

In 1896 our party divided again, this time on the silver question. We quarreled about whether we should use gold or silver for currency, when most of us had neither. Defeat and disaster resulted again. We lost the Presidency, Congress, Ambassadorships—everything. Fourteen years rolled by before we regained any branch of the Government; and we are only to-day beginning to recapture the Presidency. They have been fourteen years of prodigality and misrule, of high tariff exactions and trust building. Democrats, remembering these things, should stand together if we want victory or good government.

In 1910 Democrats of Tennessee again divided and began a fratricidal strife on a question that heretofore we had not made a partisan issue—

the temperance question. We divided on how we should control the sale of liquors in thirty of the forty-two thousand square miles of the State. Instead of fighting Republicans we fought each other. This question, like the State debt and silver, was no test of political faith. Democrats and Republicans could and did take either side of it without sacrificing their Democracy of Republicanism and leaving their party. It was no test as to whether they were Jeffersonians or Hamiltonians; for high tariff or low tariff, for trusts or against them, for force bills or against them. We divided on it; the Republicans did not. We lost; they won. We again turned the State government over to them, bag and baggage. Again the Republican party failed to make good by doing what they claimed they could do for the betterment of conditions.

Their effort is a dismal failure. In addition, they have given us the most prodigal administration since the Civil War. Let us take warning.

But, alas! These are not the only instances of calamity coming to the country from Democratic divisions. The greatest of all these divisions is yet to be told. In 1860 Democracy divided and ran two candidates for President, Breckinridge and Douglass; the American party ran another candidate from the South, our own distinguished John Bell. On the main issue then confronting the country they were all united; they all had similar views as to the rights and powers of the General Government of the State. But petty differences divided them. There was enough opposition to the Republican party, had these divisions not occurred, to defeat it. But the Republican party triumphed, Mr. Lincoln's ticket getting less than a third of the votes polled, and our great Civil War—the tragedy of the age and the continent—ensued. Nearly 3,000,000 brethren carried on for four years the most gigantic civil war of history. No tongue can describe the suffering it entailed, and there is not a maimed soldier or a soldier cemetery in our Southland that does not bear witness to the misfortune flowing from this great division. Let us profit by these sad experiences and stand together like brothers in this and all future political contests.

FUNDING THE STATE DEBT.

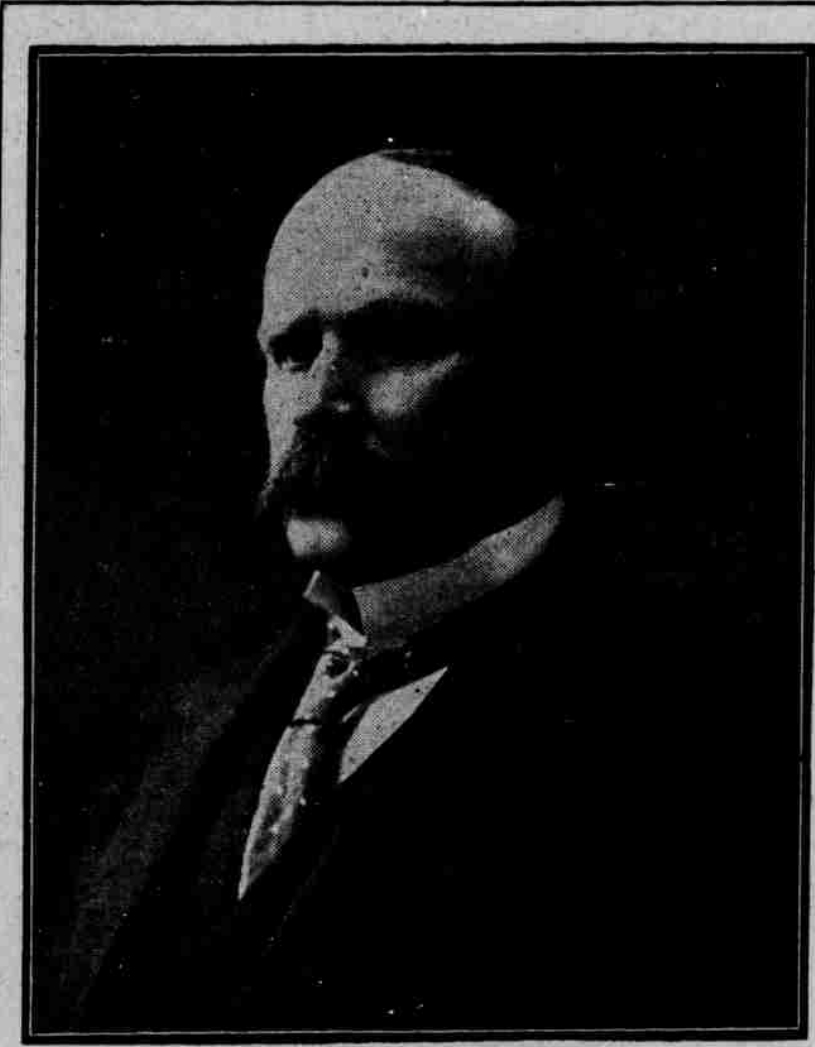
Fellow citizens, we have many important matters to be considered in this campaign and by the next Legislature. I want to discuss such of them as I can briefly to-day. We have a bonded debt of \$11,458,000, which falls due in 1913, and the funding of it will be one of the first questions arising for solution during the next administration, and very important. Most of it bears only 3 per cent interest. A sinking fund for its payment was created during my first administration. Payments were made under this during every administration since but the present. The amount of bonds paid under said act is \$5,056,400. This, with the floating debt paid, makes a grand total of near \$6,000,000, a third of all we owed. The operation of the sinking fund and heavy payments made should and will enable us to fund the balance without difficulty and without high-priced machinery and big salaried officers.

This debt can be funded like the millions were paid between 1899 and 1911 through the Funding Board, whose members are already drawing salaries from the State, and could afford to discharge the additional duties which this would entail for the State that so highly honored them without additional compensation. Why should they not do it? From the defeat of funding by friends of this administration in the Legislature it seems to me that in certain quarters fat funding jobs are contemplated, lucrative funding schemes are being hatched, and for all of these the people will have to pay dearly if they are not careful in the funding law. This funding and caring for the State debt should have been provided for by Mr. Hooper during this administration. A committee of the Legislature was appointed for that purpose, and through investigation was made at thousands of dollars of cost. A bill was drafted by it and introduced, but was killed on second reading by the followers of Gov. Hooper. Why was it done? It will not do to say that it contained objectionable features and, therefore, was killed, for ample opportunity existed to amend and perfect it. This kept it in politics and made fat things to fight for.

All jobs and jobbers should be excluded from the funding act. As indicated, I believe in funding it through the Funding Board, consisting of the Governor, Comptroller and Treasurer, instead of a high-priced outside commission, and if I am elected and the Legislature will agree to it, this is the way it will be done. It should be done at the lowest rate of interest and on the best terms obtainable.

PENITENTIARY.

When the Democratic party wrested the State government from the Republican party in 1870 they found a system prevailing and contracts made whereby the convicts of the penitentiary were leased out to private parties. Under that plan the lessees could do pretty much as they pleased with them, except turn them loose. They could work them in or out of the prison; in or out of mines. And the worst feature was they could be taken from camp to camp to take the place of striking laborers. At this last feature organized labor justly complained and Democracy heeded the complaint. The whole system was changed so they could not be used to regulate other labor or to take the place of striking workmen. Only a limited number can be employed at any one business, thereby reducing to the minimum competition with free labor. Also, all contact with free labor is abolished.



HON. BENTON McMILLIN.

is an admonition that is being heeded now as it has not been before in a generation, and that welcome cry will grow louder with the coming years and improved rural facilities.

There is one line of modern thought to which the statesmen of this day should give attention. I have said that our prosperity rests on the farmer. One of the greatest needs in this country is the establishment of means whereby the farmers of the land can, by combining their real estate, their other property and their joint efforts, establish a means, mutual it may be, whereby they can get a reliable line of credit commensurate with their ability to pay at a lower rate of interest and for a longer period than is possible under our present banking and fiscal system. Of course, all wildcat and visionary schemes are to be avoided. But in France, in Germany and in certain other parts of the Old World, mutual systems of this kind have been adopted, are in successful operation and working wonders for the people. Those are enabled to plant and reap and to buy homes on long time that could not otherwise do so. So successful have the operations been and so extensive that the banking and industrial world have alike been amazed at its success. This is not the time nor place to go into the minutia of a system, but I believe that along these lines lies a great reform, and I pledge myself, if elected, to render what aid I can to work it out, if practicable under our conditions and constitutions.

EDUCATION—INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS. One of the things to which our party is pledged in our platform is education. Of all the affairs for statesmen to consider, and to which the State can afford to lend aid, none is more important than the education of the masses of the people. For this our common school system is our main reliance. The common schools, supplemented by the high school, normal colleges and our State University, constitute an educational system

whereby all the youth of the State who will can be educated. To the cause of education and the interest of our schools I unhesitatingly pledge myself. While I was Governor I recommended to the Legislature the establishment and equipment of a splendid school of technology. I believe yet that it is a crying need. One great fault with our modern education is a lack of industrial training. We do not give enough attention to that kind of education which enables the student to turn his hand to the work of the world the day he leaves college. Mere brightening of the mind is not sufficient. Greek, Latin and modern foreign languages are not sufficient. That is the best education which is the most practical. While industrial education is in some of our schools, it is not in enough of them. Education is, or should be, three-fold, viz.: Education of the hand, of the heart and the head. It ought to be so perfect that all of these are taken into consideration when we undertake to turn out a completely educated man or woman. Work is the lot of man by divine decree. When God said that "by the sweat of our faces we should eat bread," he not only made labor honorable, but made indolence reprehensible.

AGRICULTURE.

Everything that can be done under our Constitution should be done for the cause of agriculture. This is the foundation of wealth, civilization and power. In one of Thomas Jefferson's letters, he said: "Urge our people to stay in the country, for it is the seat of both virtue and patriotism." There used to be a great embargo in the way of isolation and inconvenience laid upon him who lived in remote rural districts. But, thanks to modern invention and wise legislation, this condition is rapidly passing away. The establishment of rural free delivery, which I gladly aided when first proposed in Congress; the invention of the telephone, and the recent movement toward good roads are all blessings that have popularized and are destined to further popularize rural life. Whatever produces contentment in the country and tends to make people satisfied with their homes is a blessing to the citizen, the State and the Republic. "Back to the country,"

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We should prepare to work to greater advantage. The great ambition and struggle of our State and of the South should be to become more and more self-sustaining every year. In the South alone we have created in our brief history enough wealth to enrich empires, but we have not produced as much of what we consume as we should. We should stop going from home for our supplies. We must cease paying two commissions and two transportation to have our cattle, hogs and sheep slaughtered. When we take our corn cribs out of Kansas, our smoke houses out of Chicago and our factories out of Lowell we will flourish as the green bay tree. Then, and then only, will our loved land regain that empire of wealth and power which belongs to it by nature. I pray the day may come soon that our people will understand the importance of this and educate their sons and daughters accordingly.

POST OF DUTY.

Has Gov. Hooper stood at his post of duty and given his personal supervision to the office in such manner as to challenge the approval of his people? Has he not loitered on his job? No man can make a great Governor of this splendid State with its vast territory, great commerce and two and a quarter million people and habitually absent himself weeks at a time from his post of duty. I have known no Governor in my day who stayed away from his office as much as Gov. Hooper, while "Busily back and forth between, The spider stretches his silvery screen," from arm to arm of the Gubernatorial chair.

Sometimes he wandered in the wilds of Texas, sometimes in the arid plains of Oklahoma, sometimes in progressive Birmingham, sometimes he took to the tall timber of the tall mountains and sometimes to the penitentiary. I believe it was from the somber walls of the penitentiary that the glorious news was waited to an impatient world that a new statesman was born—that that perfect specimen of political pulchritude, Newell Sanders, was appointed to the seat once occupied by Andrew Jackson in the United States Senate. Glorious for Sanders, but tough on Tennessee and Jackson. I challenge all history of all States to show a parallel to this appointment in two particulars. First, the Governor gives as his reason for appointing him the thousands of dollars Sanders has spent for him or his party. (And this while Lorimer and another Senator were being tried in the Senate for bribery.) And, secondly, he was so impressed with his own folly in the appointment that he promised that Sanders would not offer to succeed himself.

PRODIGALITY OF HOOPER'S ADMINISTRATION. Fellow citizens, I charge that Gov. Hooper's administration has been characterized by reckless prodigality that is inexcusable. It is no wonder from the slipshod way in which business has drifted under him that he has not been able to pay anything on the State debt, and that he is the first Governor in this predicament for six administrations. He and I have both been Governor, and both seek this highly honorable position again. I CHALLENGE HIS ADMINISTRATION AND MINE, AND AM WILLING TO STAND OR FALL BY THE SHOWING SUCH COMPARISON WILL MAKE. I will show one year complete in each administration, his first year ending July 1, 1912, and my first corresponding year. The receipts under the first year of my administration were \$2,651,895.30; the disbursements were \$2,511,379.56. Out of this amount was paid nearly a half million on Tennessee's indebtedness.

There was collected under Gov. Hooper's administration, in the year ending July 1, 1912, \$4,264,488.89. There was expended by his administration in the same time \$4,658,749.93. It will be observed that he spent more than he collected; that he paid not a dollar of the State debt, and excluding what my administration paid on our indebtedness, it cost just about

twice as much to run the State government during Hooper's administration as it did during McMILLIN's. Not only is this extravagance characteristic of one branch of the State government, but it is of every branch. In order that the people of this State may know what a costly luxury Hooper is to them, I am going to give the cost of those departments run under the executive authority through appointments of the Governor, including the subsidiary officers under his appointment, and I will begin with the Governor's own office, where he is presumed to be "monarch of all he surveys."

Statement showing appropriations made under the administration of McMILLIN for the two years ending March 19, 1903, as compared with the appropriations under Hooper for the two years ending March 19, 1913, for the offices of Governor and those under his control:

Per cent of Increase in Hooper's administration	
Increase under Hooper	100.00
Cost under Hooper (Chapter 72, Acts of 1911)	\$2,511,379.56
Cost under McMILLIN (Chapter 153, Acts of 1901)	\$4,658,749.93
ACCOUNTS	
Office of Governor	\$1,000.00
State Board of Health	\$10,000.00
Adjutant General	\$5,000.00
Salaries State Prison	\$15,000.00
Agricultural Department	\$10,000.00
Totals	\$35,000.00

Let it be borne constantly in mind that these are the executive branches of the Government and most of them are run by Gov. Hooper's appointees; and that he approved the bills making the appropriations when he was so handy with his threat of a veto to get rid of \$6,000 to build a monument in memory of splendid womanhood. He might have done the State some service by declining to approve these increased expenditures.

Now, we will take up the cost of investigating committees under my administration in 1901 and Hooper's administration in 1911. While it is true that these are not under the executive department they are appropriations under the Governor's scrutiny and which he could veto as he could any other appropriation:

Name of Com. Investigating Committee	McMillin Admin.	Hooper Admin.
Cost	\$723.15	\$2,840.30
State Board of Health	68.00	25.00
Charitable Institutions	2,211.70	3,185.30
Bribery Committee	338.40	—
Redistricting Committee	1,013.75	2,044.85
Penitentiary Committee	322.50	4,408.35
Agriculture	402.55	2,409.00
Pension Examiners	125.00	—
Auditing Controller & Treasurer	1,368.30	6,250.00
Archives	—	45.00
Capitol Annex	—	—
Finance, Ways and Means	—	1,123.35
Fish, Forestry and Game	—	1,011.67
Inheritance Tax	—	401.00
Mine Inspector's Office	—	87.00
Mining Laws	—	3,304.90
State Normal School	—	1,051.95
Juvenile Criminal Laws	—	1,206.15
Refunding State Debt	—	2,026.83
Public Roads	—	2,500.50
Election Funds DeKalb County	—	307.30
Auditing Office Secretary State	—	960.00
Auditing Office Geologist	—	170.25
Auditing Office Public Instruction	—	522.00
Auditing Office Food and Drug Insp.	—	166.00
Tunnelling Capitol Hill	—	398.00
Totals	\$5,838.56	\$38,740.41

It will be observed that the various investigating and junketing committees cost \$32,915.86 more under Hooper's administration than under McMILLIN, which is an increase of 564 per cent, and yet the Governor gets himself in a frenzy over Democratic rule.

You have heard of the Prodigal Son who wasted his substance in riotous living. But he squandered his own, not others' inheritance. Hooper's administration spends the money for others. Besides he repented. Hooper's people have not. Therefore I'll not compare the Prodigal to them. It would do the poor wretches injustice.

TEMPERANCE QUESTION.

The Democratic party in Tennessee has always stood for real temperance. Every practical temperance law placed on our statute books was put there by a Democratic Legislature. When Governor, I signed every bill of this nature presented to me. In this we should take no backward step. The most successful law for controlling the sale of whisky was our four-mile law. It dealt with the question practically. Where exclusion of sales could be enforced the law was applied. Where it could not, regulation of sales was provided. Each county